/55 cont./

243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear
[161] on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p. 89]

39: Bernatzik--79 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. A M 858 Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M [164] [123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/77 con./

M 595 596 with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old M 596 sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in M [614] [736] another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

A M 596 [858] The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A M [858] The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/79 cont./

A M 868 The small child is first taught how to speak, beginning with the words for father and mother. Later comes the simple housework, and only then the aforementioned more difficult spheres of work. For the latter the parents on the one hand select those children who exhibit special talents for the one or the other sphere; on the other hand, the educators and parents naturally seek to train the children in those crafts which they themselves as teachers and models have mastered extraordinarily well. One Meau father, for instance, who was an excellent hunter, said to me: "I would have liked to make a hunter out of my oldest boy, but he is only interested in my smithy.

A M 867 869 Besides these things which are required to master the material aspects of life, the educators and parents also instruct the children in religion and medicine, since this is not the business of the shaman, as well as manners and good behavior, which is very important in view of the traditional politeness of the Meau! In short, education includes everything that will enable the child to master life later on and to become a respected member of the community. For the rest, all the wishes of the children are complied with as far as possible. To be sure, among the Meau they are not trained to dance, but they are not prevented from dancing.

M [868]

A M 861 From earliest childhood punishment and reward are used as a means of education. Disobedient children are reprimanded, and if this does not help, they get a beating, along with references to their duties, up to the age of eight, as parents explained to me. Actually I never saw adults actually beat a child. As a reward, on the other hand, a father may carve a small crossbow for his eight-year-old son, or, among the Meau, ask the blacksmith to make a small gun for his well-behaved son.

A M 593 858 The children are brought up remarkably well. They obey promptly, and one rarely sees it happen that a child has to be punished. The children are treated equitably, but there are always special favorites. As a rule, it is the ailing or weak upon whom /80/ the affection of the parents is obviously bestowed, or upon the youngest, who naturally are also the weakest. The older children do not mind this, and siblings are generally not jealous at all as soon as they have

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [429] [758] [270] [185] [614] [730] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M 185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

Akha A04
M.120 AE5

M 185 858 /81/ One blacksmith was trying to educate his son to become an even better man at the same trade. One mother wanted her daughter to develop into a good batik designer. Another father wanted his son "to be made into a brave and industrious man"; a third father wished him to be "capable and clever." As was said, among the Meau the ideal factor always came before the material one. Only once did I receive the answer: "May he become clever and rich." In the case of girls, little value was placed upon intelligence and beauty; it was hoped that they would best master women's work and become industrious women who would have many children.

A 185 858 The Akha are much more materialistic than the Meau. They, too, love their children tenderly, and what was said about the Meau in this respect generally also applies to them. Nevertheless, when I also questioned as many Akha as possible, they often replied that children were needed since they could help with the work, an answer which, as was pointed out, I received only once from my Meau informants. Accordingly, materialistic considerations are always in the foreground in the plans for the future of the children among the Akha. Among them the mothers usually declared that they wished their sons to become so industrious and skillful that they would be able to support a family well. The idea of security was thus the foremost consideration in these replies, as well as in the ones which I shall not specifically quote. In only one case did an Akha father wish that his son would become a good physician, "because health is the most important thing in life." Despite their obviously happy youth, the adult Meau talk of it only rarely, the Akha almost never. Men might perhaps describe how they obtained their first gun or how they shot their first muntjac and the like, and women remember as an impressive moment of their childhood how they cooked alone for the first time or how the mother explained batik work or the use of the loom to them.

A M 159 868

/240 cont./

426 paid back, including the interest. Natural products can take the place of money or silver. If /241/ the creditor and debtor cannot agree on the evaluation of the goods, the creditor will ask the debtor to sell his wares elsewhere for silver and to pay him back with it.

If the debtor is not in a position to repay the loan, he must reimburse the creditor in another way, for example, by laying out a field large enough so that the harvest will cover the sum of the loan. Therefore, if a Meau has borrowed the 21 baskets of rice mentioned, he lays out a field that will yield 28 baskets.

426 If the debtor cannot satisfy the creditor in this way, a
432 sale takes place, not of the debtor himself or his wives or his adult
●858 children, but of those children who have not yet reached maturity.
[567 In this case, the debtor is obligated to give an appropriate num-
[734 ber of these children to the creditor in lieu of payment. The
[597 creditor is now free to decide whether he wants to bring up the
[435 children as unfree persons, to adopt them, or to resell them to his tribesmen or to migratory traders. If children have to be turned over to a creditor, their value is fixed at 70 pieces of silver for a boy and 50 pieces for a girl.

426 Interest is demanded only from members of other sibs
614 and is paid to such persons. Within the sib the granting of loans to sib members who need help as a result of crop failure, cattle deaths, or lightning is regarded as a sib duty.

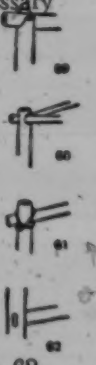
426 The members of a large /extended/ family are not re-
596 sponsible for the debts of the head of the large family during his
768 lifetime. If the head should die before repaying his debt, however, the entire large family is jointly responsible for the amount of the debt. In like manner, the head of a large family is not responsible for the debts incurred by a member of his family withouthis knowledge. This is not affected by the death of the debtor. On the other hand, the head is responsible for debts incurred by a member of the large family with the knowledge and approval of the head, even if the debtor should die before the debt is repaid.

Miao AE5

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
556 larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
352 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
353 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary
556 for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
352 tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the
[574] spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the
353 main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the
[251] interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

[1] [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--723 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AES

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of [858] children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them [462] around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work.

283 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the 868 palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, 854 the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how [854] the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger